entirely as the husband's own. If the mother runs away with a man -- which sometimes happens -- without taking the child along, it is fed by the grandmother whose name it also usually bears if it is a girl. It is by no means a disgrace for the girl if her sexual relations with young men have consequences.

3. Marriage

We have already seen that sexual intercourse within blood relationship is taboo (ekĭ). Such relationship includes:

1. one's own familial group;
2. the mother's familial group;
3. the familial group of the father's mother.

Formerly this taboo was observed by all Pangwe with uniform strictness, but today it is frequently circumvented. The Jaunde do not always observe it, and the Fang -- of all people, the Fang with their constantly emphasized ceon -- have dropped it for the own familial group, but retain it for the other familial groups. To the Ntum and all the other Pangwe this shocking occurrence has been a great irritant, and they never let an opportunity pass of making fun of the immorality of the Fang who "cohabit with their own sisters" or of speaking indignantly about it, without failing at the same time to stress their own great respect for morality and decency. This is done despite the fact that the Ntum themselves have at least in part been corrupted by the bad example of the Fang, and in other respects, too, transgressions against the taboo are not infrequent. The custom of having sexual relations with women of one's own kin group (sisters in the Pangwe sense) is called zĭmaduju III or simply zăma III, the verb being a dulu zăma. As can be seen by the prefix class, the name has been derived entirely unchanged from the name for God (zĭma) and signifies "to act like Sama," because, as can be seen from the creation story (Vol. II, p. 16 ff. /Ed., not translated/), Sama (Nsambe) had sexual intercourse with his own sister.

Where zămadulu is still taboo, a payment must be made to the girl's father in case of a violation. The payment varies depending upon the gravity of the offense: a number of goats

835 (formerly it was commonly five goats), as well as a dog which
684 serves as scapegoat, that is, the dog is supposed to take upon itself the disease with which the sinner is threatened by the cult spirit. If disease nonetheless occurs, medicines which are connected with the cults are prepared (see medicines for cult sicknesses, Vol. II, p. 36).

855 The modern, freer conception or -- among the Fang -- the
582 denial of the taboo against intercourse with blood relatives (in the Pangwe sense) disappears as soon as there is a question of marriage. Then the taboo is in force everywhere and without qualifications. /260/

836 Free intercourse between the young man and the girl is, in
583 many cases, only a shorter or longer testing period which, if the result of the "test" -- in this case a physical one, as contrasted to the spiritual one of which we spoke above -- is favorable, leads to marriage. If the girl is very much in love with her friend, to use a Pangwe expression, he can readily persuade her to follow him immediately to his village. Such an "abduction" is considered -- partly, at least -- to be sanctified by custom, even if the bride's family is usually not overjoyed at the practice. In such a case, the girl's father will set out the next day to demand the purchase price from his son-in-law. If the latter is able to pay him a part, say, half of this price, the matter is settled, and the balance is usually put on a buy-now-pay-later basis. If it turns out, however, that the "abducter" is a poor beggar or that his father does not want to produce the money, the bride is mercilessly taken away from him again even if she pours out streams of tears. You simply cannot get something for nothing. In the majority of cases, however, the girl will not agree to run away with her lover; instead she will demand that her suitor ask her father for her hand in marriage and first make a payment.

583 Every woman, young or old, has the same value. Nonetheless, the amount of the purchase price fluctuates greatly in accordance with general economic conditions. A woman is cheapest among the Jaunde and she is most expensive in the heart of Pangwe country. The price fluctuates between 200 and 750 marks in our money. On the average, one can assume a price of

837 to do so, but, as I said -- white crows! Actually, it would be asking rather a lot to expect this as the order of the day, in view of the prevailing polygyny. All jealousy and all supervision are of no avail; the women simply acquire behind the man's back what he cannot or will not grant them.

[822] [595] Generally, the chief keeps only a small number of his wives, perhaps from three to five, for himself. The others he divides among his /263/ adherents and friends or hires them out to acquaintances for one or more nights in exchange for cash payment. In addition, as is apparent from the reckonings at the feast for the souls, the women keep a whole series of admirers who -- if there is no other way -- satisfy them during the day in the fields, in spite of Ngi and all the cult spirits. Even lepers and cripples are not spurned if they are capable sexually. If the [584] husband learns the name of a wife's lover, the latter must pay him about 300 spears. The price fluctuates somewhat, and in case the parties do not come to an agreement, it is determined by legal proceedings. If the husband catches a rival in flagrante delicto, he sometimes has no scruples about shooting him down on the spot.

587 If a woman dies soon after marriage, the widower obtains the sister of the deceased as a wife, either for nothing or for a small additional payment, because it is believed that the woman carried an ewu inside her, in other words, that she was a sorceress and was therefore responsible for her own death, thus wronging her husband.

586 If for some reason or other a man does not like his wife, he can give her back without great difficulty, since, after all, she retains her value and finally always "gets her man." In the case of young people, who frequently marry the first person that happens to be available and only later realize what they have actually acquired, wives may be taken back purely if they have a poor appearance, diseased teeth, an evil smell, and so forth, in other words, if they are generally "unpleasant."

Otherwise, the chief grounds for divorce are: 1) spitefulness and disobedience towards the spouse; 2) malicious, extended desertion of the husband (but not simple running away) and

833 to be, in part at least, effective. Thus, the most common of
278 these, derived from the Rubiacea Corynanthe yohimbe K. Sch.,
[824] has recently been incorporated in our medications under the name "yohimbin," The natives produce an extract from the bark and wood of the tree and drink this. They conceive the manner of its effect as similar to the one mentioned above, and they reason as follows: the wood of the tree is especially hard in relation to that
[825] of other trees, say, like the penis of a pig in relation to that of other animals (something which one notices if one boils it and tries to eat it), and I shall acquire this characteristic of the wood if I partake of some of the wood. Hence the tree also bears the name nkŭn e ngūĭ, "pig's penis."

Aside from the Corynanthe yohimbe, we should mention here
824 two other trees which possibly also give physiological effects:
833 Leguminosa Baphia buettneri Harms (mfă I, mfăn I), and the
278 Flaccourtiacea Homalium africanum Bth. (ejŭm, supposedly from a jŭme nkŭn, "to erect the penis," an expression that I never again encountered. In my opinion, the root contained in ejŭm is the same as in nnŭm, plural bojŭm = masculine gender; thus, the tree would be called ejŭm for (e) the man; majŭm, plural = seed). /267/ The leaves of the Baphia buettneri are gathered, ground on stones, and placed in the sun in sugar wine. The mixture is drunk while it is warm. From the Homalium, on the other hand, the bark is scraped off and ground; then it is boiled with spices and the liquid drunk while it is hot.

Finally, three more plants were mentioned to me as belonging in the category of biă'n ejē, among these, the Solanum duplosinuatum U.D. (etūĭ'n) because of its spikes.

Venereal diseases (see Section 13) are prevalent only in those
164 areas where European influence has existed for some time, especially
● 684 in Yaoundé and Gabon, from where syphilis has been spread. The
[177] Negroes seem to consider frambesia a kind of sexual disease, for the man who has communicated this disease to a girl or a wife must pay her or her father the same penalty (500 to 1,000 spears) he would pay if he had infected her with syphilis. If, on the other hand, the lover becomes infected through the woman, he can claim no damages.

In the case of gonorrhea, the infected woman can demand
164 damages only if she notices the misfortune before she has been
●684 paid for the favor rendered. The damages amount to 400 spears if the disease came from a person of the same kin group, and 1000 spears if it came from a person of another kin group. With the payment the "temporary marriage contract" is terminated, and thereby any claim for damages is nullified. In other words, it is always a good idea to pay one's debts as soon as possible:

[539] a bĕle, a bĕle, a kŏn abĕ mayŏ̂k.
Keeping, keeping, it strikes (a) poor bargain.

The person who always keeps his money to himself runs into an unfavorable price situation.

Their unrestrained sexual intercourse has a highly deleterious
831 effect upon the Negroes; it weakens and stupefies them. Smaller
461 boys are often quite useful as servants, but once they reach sexual maturity and become acquainted with women, they can simply no longer be used. The Pangwe recognize this bad influence, and intelligent ones among them did not hesitate to confess frankly to me that their sexual practices corrupted them and made them incapable of strenuous physical or intellectual work. We do not need the testimony of individuals, however -- popular customs demonstrate this insight sufficiently. I believe that, aside from
[834] being based upon the original religious conception concerning the sinfulness of sexual intercourse and its incarnation in the woman, the abstinence rules for war and hunting expeditions and for iron smelting are based on the experience that sexual intercourse weakens the man's physical and intellectual capacities. Naturally, the man is inclined to heap the blame on women /268/
[196] and bebŏn, "vaginas," as he contemptuously calls them (1).

171 1. "Terms which originally only signified 'vulva' or 'cunnus' but were then generalized into the concept 'wenches,'" exist everywhere in Europe, too; see Anthropophyteia, Jahrbücher für folkloristische Erhebungen und Forschungen zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der geschlechtlichen

831
785 sun) -- or with elephant's meat, in which case the child is sup-
556 posed to become spiritually great and important, just as the ele-
[825] phant surpasses the other animals physically, or, finally, with the meat of the hedgehog -- the child is to get as many things as the hedgehog has quills (1).

[539] 1. A well-known proverb, to be intelligible, would have to be translated into Pangwe something like this: He is as full of stupidities as the hedgehog is full of quills.

785 Thus, the child becomes miăk. Its loincloth is taken off
831 and from now on -- be it male or female -- it must go about completely naked. Here is another significant fact regarding
[834] the moral-religious view of the Pangwe: clothing, that is, the
[291] covering of the sex organs, arose because the sense of shame (o-so-n) which started with the first sin (n-sö-m, root so), that is, sexual intercourse, demanded it. If the innocent state (ignorance of sexual matters) is artificially restored, clothing becomes unnecessary.

The miăk are generally respected. People are careful not to speak to them about sexual matters or to seduce the girls, especially since /270/ the protection which they are accorded by cus-
[684] tom is effectively strengthened through the right of the father or the relatives to shoot down the seducer without further ado wherever they find him. Nowadays, however, the old customs have been somewhat relaxed; the miăk are not always what they ought to be.

Annulment of the chastity obligation takes place in the same solemn manner when the consecrated person is fully grown, in other words, not before the age of 20 years. In the case of the man, it is required that he prove himself the bravest in war or at least that he has shot an enemy (1). In the case of the girl, it is

[177] 1. Today, in the regions influenced by the Whites, this decree has had to be moderated.

[583] required of the suitor that, contrary to the usual custom, he pay

838 feminine role seems to be hinted at with these words), but I am
539 not in the girl's skin either, after all!" However, Schok I was not satisfied with this explanation. Thereupon the father went to the village of Schok IV, who had abducted his daughter, and demanded bride price from him. Schok IV accordingly paid this price. Bongo went back home with it and said to Schok I: "Here is all the money for the girl; I am paying you with it!" But Schok I said to him: "No, I don't want the money!" Thereupon the father took one of his wives and the money and wanted to offer all this to Schok I as compensation. But still Schok would have none of it. He said: "No, I don't want it -- rather (and this will be the compensation) we shall both always be together; when you urinate, I shall also urinate; when you defecate, I shall also defecate, when you sleep, I shall also sleep with you on the same bed (1)!"

1. The great declaration of love of the Pangwe corresponding to our: "Wherever you go, there I will go too!"

So, in fact, it turned out, and the two slept together. Finally, however, both contracted frambesia and died of it.

The last Schok, Schok II, who loved the brother, did the same thing with the latter as Schok I did with Bongo. As a substitute for the girl, he stayed with the brother, and the two slept together. But they, too, became sick, of leprosy, and died.

In this tale it is particularly striking that the sexually normal and abnormal have different fates. The normal Schok III gets away unpunished, even though he kills the wife of his host, who was to become his mother-in-law. The homosexuals Schok I and II receive a terrible punishment in the form of leprosy and frambesia for their intercourse.

838 As we already know and as we have seen again here, the
● [684] punishment for homosexual intercourse is usually leprosy, meted out by Ngi (or /274/ other cult spirits) as the guardian of purity. This is also the punishment for other immoral crimes, such as sexual intercourse during the day, and so forth.

314 681 circumcision was public, and the woman to whom it was done underwent the gibes and insults of all the inhabitants.

883 836 848 The life of the young people is the same as that of the adults. The virginity of a woman is considered unimportant and the Fan have sexual relations from the time they are capable of cohabitation. When a young girl has a child, it belongs to her parents, from whom the child acquires wealth; there is no search for the father and the young girl keeps all the respect which she enjoyed. Young girls are free to give themselves to whomever they please. This very broad morality, [582] however, has one important qualification in that there are, so to speak, no young girls, the little girls having been married off by their parents very early, sometimes even before their birth.

582 Marriage (alug). Men rarely marry before the age of twenty years, and usually later, because they do not have the means to pay the dowry for taking a wife.

582 835 Exogamy is always practiced because marriage between people of the same tribe is sterile. Marriage between cousins is forbidden up to the third generation and in general, marriage is forbidden between persons linked by any kind of kinship; in this case there is also pro- [684] hibition of sexual relations. No penalty is prescribed for infraction, but the guilty ones will fall ill and their children, if they have any, will not live.

582 783 835 Occasionally there are instances when marriage between relatives is authorized, but only after the practitioner has removed the prohibition by the process [88] called abvule minsem. The practitioner goes to find some termite earth (ngurege), a plant (mekaga), and a vine (nyola dzik); the plant and vine are folded and placed in an etok [945] (a container of banana leaves) full of water. The termite earth is placed on a nzum (see the description in the section on conception) and the etok is placed underneath. The two kinsmen who want to marry also stand underneath it, while the practitioner climbs onto the nzum, dips the leaves in the etok, and says, "nseme ose mi waga bo e wo ma va yüi" (I remove every prohibition that you have made). He hits the termite earth with the leaves and then takes the etok and pours the contents onto the heads of the two people from whom he is removing the prohibition. With the remainder, the man and woman each takes a washing.

583 A man who has not enough dowry but who finds a young girl eager to marry him may take her away in the night; when the parents come

585 The day on which the woman is to come out of the hut, she is bathed
535 and anointed with an oil (mbon nzüi) and is seated on a stool placed in the middle of the village square. Other women sing and dance around her and give her a new name to represent a wish she has made.

There is no religious ceremony.

583 There also used to be a marriage by exchange of wives (mvole bunanga). With the mere consent of the women concerned, two men could exchange their wives. The parents of the wives did not interfere except to verify the amounts of the dowries and to make sure that the husband of the wife with the lesser dowry had fully paid the difference to the other.

543 The relations between married couples are simple: the man must
562 lodge his wife and clear the brush from the site where she will make her plantings; on the other hand, the wife owes absolute fidelity and obedience to her husband, who has the right to beat her. The woman has no authority in the household; she is hardly more respected than
[832] a domestic animal; she owns in her own right only the cooking utensils and the tools for planting and fishing, and does not have the right to own animals. Prohibition of sexual relations is rigidly observed during
[834] pregnancy, during lactation, and in the night preceding departure for the hunt, work at the forge, and various [other] tasks. If the prohibition were not observed, these tasks would be unsuccessful.

595 Polygamy is the present custom among the Fan. The first wife has authority over the others, who must obey her. She receives the largest share of everything and assigns household chores and field work. The husband sleeps with each of his wives for three days.

● 684 In adultery, only the wife is punished. She is beaten and her ac-
837 complice pays an indemnity to her husband. This indemnity amounts to a quarter of the dowry. The wife confesses her adultery only when forced to by a series of corporal punishments which range from blows to being tied to a tree full of ants (akokum).

586 Repudiation is accomplished without difficulty: the man sends back his wife and the dowry is repaid him. The causes for repudiation are repeated adultery, the death of a child as a result of adultery, laziness, practice of fetishism, and excessive surveillance of the husband; sterility is not a reason for [90] repudiation. The children stay with the husband, and the woman, once repudiated, may remarry.

837

"Etudes sur le Pays Pahouin [Study on the Pahouin Country]," op. cit.

"friendship wife"), show, as does the freedom just referred to, that the curbing of adultery can be explained by social reasons which are quite alien to sexuality.

[727 567] 831 595 581 The possibility of raping women of neighboring people during the time of conquest, the possibility of buying foreign women at a good price, so long as the slave trade lasted, permitted the "chiefs" of groupings to remedy the dangers due to the unsatisfied desires of the young men. Apparently the Fang do not display, as do some people, (2) signs of unsatisfied sex due to the fact that

2. Cf. R. Bastide, Sociologie et Psychanalyse [Sociology and Psychoanalysis], pp. 160-161.

women remain the property of the older men. What is sought is the legal possession of the woman, let us say, for the many advantages it entails, rather than sexual possession. And in this sense the justification brought forward by L. Mba can be understood when he writes, "It was not material satisfaction of the senses which drove the Pahouins to polygamy, but many other reasons. . . ."

581 562 684 628 When the marriage is consummated, the woman goes from a state of near liberty to one of strict sexual control. The specific painful physical penalties for adultery to which the woman alone is subject are particularly severe: being exposed naked before the assembled village, being tied to the ant tree, excision of the clitoris or pimento torture, various mutilations. When the woman, either by flight or by rape, leaves the grouping into which she married, the whole group reacts violently. It is the cause of fights, kidnaping, and pillaging of the village that has taken her in. (3) There is the most absolute contrast between this control

581 562

3. "Hence, conflicts that last for years, expressed through kidnaping of women and ending in gunshots," Libreville, Archives of 1909. And

the law has not changed on this point. "No bride price, no marriage" —Sa nsuba, ve alu' e se kik. We shall find this principle again in connection with legitimate descent.

Thus it is the absence of payment of the nsuba that gives their character to free union, ébon, and to adultery, mejian, and makes them really infringements upon the law of property, justifying the fact that customary courts logically refuse to impose a penalty in a case of ébon when the girl returns to her family pregnant (2).

2. This is hard for some magistrates to understand.

A husband must provide his wife with lodging and clothes and must clothe any children he has by her. He must clear the field she will cultivate, provide her with household utensils and, in theory, with meat. He must allow her to visit her parents, to whom he owes respect. He must not use sorcery (3) against her and must respect the

3. Likened to sorcery are fellatio and sodomy, the grounds for numerous divorces from former members of native infantry regiments.

prerogatives of rank that she holds among her co-wives; he is supposed to sleep with her when she is not menstruating nor pregnant nor nursing. He must not beat her beyond what she can stand nor expose her vulva in public. /54/

A woman owes obedience to her husband, to her mother-in-law, and to the first wife, respect to her affinal relatives, therefore to her husband's clan; she must be faithful to her husband and perform her conjugal duty. She is responsible for cultivating the plots cleared for her, for fishing with weirs, for feeding her children, taking her turn at cooking for her husband, for keeping her hut clean and that of her husband when she is sleeping with him, and for helping to build them (it is she who applies the banco onto the frame). She does not have to take care of imported household equipment and clothes because these are biôm of a masculine nature (but the schools and missions are trying to train women to do so). Finally, and above all, she must be prolific: this is her first duty and a great deal will be forgiven her if she performs it.

685 If the offense is admitted, punishment follows immediately. With theft, for instance, the person who has committed larceny must make a restitution of double the value. In some tribes, the thief if condemned to lose an ear, a finger, a hand, sometimes a foot. Often he may be sold into slavery. Among the Fan he has merely to return twice the amount stolen.

●684 In case of adultery, the culprit pays the value of the woman and is also often kept prisoner for a long time in the plaintiff's village; his head is shaved and he is exposed to the sun, covered with spices. If payment is not made, and even if it is, the woman's father or husband has the right --and makes use of it -- to cut the joints of the culprit's fingers so that he is made almost powerless. Women are cruelly beaten and spices are rubbed into her wounds. She is also chastised with the [413] nkôñ éki, (2) a kind of long iron shears used to pinch deeply and

2. This is the name of certain villages where the blacksmiths are found who are skilfull in making these instruments of torture.

cruelly burn the genital organs. At the second offense her nose and ears are cut off; a third brings death.

682 In case of murder, the murderer, when captured, is killed and eaten. Furthermore, his family must pay compensation with a woman or the equivalent value, that is, two lives for one.

695 For all other charges and for those just mentioned, when the acknowledged or presumed culprit denies his guilt, judicial trial is required. [560]

Whatever the ordeal, they may all be considered from two points of view, or even are of two degrees. The first ordeal is intended to "indicate" the likely culprit; the second, to decide whether or not he is really guilty. Punishment is immediate and strikes simultaneously at body and soul.

The first step is therefore to discover the culprit. With theft, murder, or sorcery, the ordeals vary according to the case.